606 393 Nsabula *nsati* (a term corresponding to *nuna*, husband) or *nkata*, a reciprocal term, or *nkosikazi*, a Zulu word which means queen, or *ntjibeli*, cook, even *mamana*. I have already described the moral relation which the word nsati implies : no very great tenderness, not much intimacy, but a certain amount of love mingled with respect, and even fear, because a wife can get her husband into endless trouble if she begins to quarrel and runs home ; then all the bukoñwana relations will be spoilt by interminable discussions.

The word bukoñwana is composed of three elements : the root *ko*, which is an ancient Bantu root, found also in Zulu-Xosa (kwe), in Sutho (hoe) and Pedi (χwe). Its meaning is etymologically unknown. To it is added a suffix, *ñwana*, and a prefix *bu*. The prefix bu has a double meaning ; the meaning of abstraction (and then bukoñwana indicates the relationship between a man and his relatives-in-law) and the meaning of place (when bukoñwana indicates the village where relatives-in-law dwell). They say, employing this word in the locative case : To go bukoñwanen, or in an abbreviated form : bukwen.

601 607 I have been fortunate enough to obtain from Mboza the full nomenclature of his wife's relatives. It so happens that the Gogwe family is extraordinarily complete. Nsabula has both an elder brother and elder sister, a younger brother and a younger sister. Owing to this, I have been able to study all the possible kinds of relationship of Mboza with his wife's relatives.

The terms used to express these kinds of relationship fall into two categories, which present a striking contrast. On the one hand a man, when he goes to his wife's village, meets with the persons he fears most in the world : these are his *bakoñwana*, properly speaking ; on the other hand he finds there the women towards whom he behaves with the greatest liberty ; these are the *tinamu*. Describing these two sets of relatives-in-law, one of my informants said : "Bakoñwana are those persons who produce wives for you ; tinamu are those persons who produce children for you, because they are your presumptive wives. Even if you do not marry them, their children will call you father."

Let us study these two categories in detail.

b: The bakoñwana.

606 First of all, *the wife's father*. There is a great respect in the heart of his son-in-law towards him, even a certain amount of fear, because, should a quarrel arise between a man and his wife, the father-in-law will preside over the painful discussions which will take place, he being the natural protector of his daughter. However, in normal cases, the two men live on good terms with each other, and very soon the son-in-law calls his father-in-law tatana, father ; of course the word tatana is not used here in its technical sense, but only by extension.

607 192 Secondly the bakoñwana are *the wife's brothers*. When their father dies, they take his place as protectors of their sister. Hence the uneasiness and fear with regard to them, which is, however, less marked in their case. The wife's brothers will never be called bamakweru (as they will never be ba-kweru, those of my house) but they are frequently designated by the term *soar*, or *sibar*, which is merely a corruption of the Dutch word zwager. This curious adoption of a foreign term is modern ; it is spreading more and more amongst the Zulus, Xosas and Suthos of Basutoland. Amongst the Thongas I only once heard the word soar used. The tendency to assimilate that kind of relationship to the European conception is a proof that the old fear of brothers-in-law is disappearing in the new generation.

606 But it is in the relation with two women of the wife's family that the respect of bukoñwana is pushed to the greatest extent : the wife's mother and the wife of the brother-in-law. In these cases there is not only respect but *avoidance*

The wife's mother.

606 576 Let us listen to Viguet telling the story of a man meeting his mother-in-law in the bush. "If one of the two sees the othe coming a long way off, soon enough to escape without being noticed, he will speedily hide himself and reach his destination by making a long circuit, half a mile if necessary. But if they have come too near to have recourse to flight, this is what will happen. You leave the road ; you enter the bush on your right

606 side. She does the same. Then you sit down according to
316 men's fashion, crossing your legs. She also sits down bending
834 her legs, and putting one knee over the other as women do; then
576 both parties salute each other, you, as a man, clapping your hands against each other, holding them parallel, and the woman holding hers at right angles. Then you begin to talk..."

Suppose the son-in-law has had the good luck to reach the village of his wife's relatives without having met his mother-in-law, but sees her sitting somewhere near a hut. This is dreadful. She looks at him and at once covers her breasts with her cloth. He himself turns his eyes aside. I saw in Natal a curious photograph representing the scene. Amongst the Zulus the avoidance of the mother-in-law is perhaps more marked than in any other tribe; the man is shown in the picture hiding his face
606 with his shield. Should the mother-in-law be taking her meal
576 when her son-in-law arrives unexpectedly, she throws away the mouthful she was eating, and he does the same.— Suppose then that he has entered the village without seeing her; then the tinamu, his wife's sisters, come hastily to meet him. They take his sticks, joking with him meanwhile and put them in his mother-in-law's hut. This hut is his; he has the right of staying in it during his whole visit. They spread a mat on the ground, and bring him food. They chat with him. Then the mother-in-law comes in her turn, but she dares not enter the hut. She sits down outside and, without seeing him, salutes him, saying: "Good morning, son of so and so." She must not pronounce his name. He answers in the same style, and must also say: "Daughter of so and so." Should he call her by her name it would be a breach of etiquette and his wife would be angry and say: "How dare you? Did she not bring me forth? Rather say: Mother!" During the first years of his married life, the son-in-law never eats with his wife's mother.

607 This peculiar behaviour is the rule, not only towards the wife's mother, but also towards her sisters.

606 In the course of years there is a *lessening* of this terrible taboo.
431 In the Maputju clan, the son-in-law will provide an ox as soon as
576 possible and he will "communicate" (tlhangana) with her, partaking

606 be banished from their thoughts. They obey that conviction when
835 practising the avoidance rites.

The wife of the brother-in-law, the Great Mukoñwana.

607 This particular respect is even more marked in the relations of a man with the wife of his wife's brother. Indeed the avoidance is pushed further than with the mother-in-law. A Native of the Ndjao tribe (which has the same customs as the Thonga tribe in this respect) described to me vividly the extraordinary marks of fear that these two persons show each other when they meet on the road. The story will be told when speaking of the Ba-Ndjao. Here are some other marks of this extraordinary respect.

607 The wife's brother's wife must always keep her breasts covered
834 in the village of her husband's sister's husband. Only when she has had a child is she permitted to "open her clothing;" but then she must fix a leaf in her hair (as if to show that she does not forget the special reserve which she is bound to maintain). (Khosen region.)

607 When a man travels with his great mukoñwana and they have to
836 cross a river, they will avoid entering the same boat. It may
827 happen to anyone to emit an unseemly sound from the rectum; but if the great mukoñwana is present, she looks on this as a grave offence. A fine must be paid to her, a hoe, for instance. If the guilty man has nothing to give her, he at once breaks a twig from a tree and presents it to her as a token that the proper fine will be forthcoming in due time! He must never use words of insult in her presence, even if he addresses them to another person.

607 If he loses his temper before her she will go to the old people of
844 her husband's village and tell them: "He has insulted me." On the other hand the great mukoñwana is bound to go and assist the wife of this man when she gives birth to a child. At least this is the rule in the Khosa clan and also in Maputju. The two women live on very good terms with each other; they are

607 *tinhombe*. The man himself, when he visits his relatives-in-law, has the right of sleeping in the hut of the great mukoñwana. We have seen that, during the first months after his marriage, he is received in the hut of his mother-in-law. Why is this? Because the oxen

607 of the lobolo are still in the hands of the father-in-law. But later on these oxen are used to provide a wife for one of the sons, and the woman thus obtained is the great mukoñwana; therefore her hut belongs in a certain sense to the man with whose oxen she was bought. When he arrives, he may first be "shown" (komba) the mother-in-law's hut and rest there for a while, but at once the hut of the great mukoñwana will be prepared and he will move into it for the night; of course the mistress of the house has gone elsewhere, and it is the tinamu who will sleep in her hut to keep him company. (However should the visitor have not yet paid the lobolo, he will not be received in this hut. It may happen that his bakoñwana will say to him: "Where is your hut? Sleep outside!")

607 835 582 Why do the relations of a man with the wife of his brother-in-law resemble so greatly his relations with his wife's mother? Let us remember that this man is the potential husband of the daughter of the first, just as he is the actual husband of the daughter of the second. It is probable that the great principle that "a man must not marry a woman and her mother" dictates this extraordinary fear and avoidance in both cases. But, in the case of the wife of the brother-in-law, there is still another element: "The oxen!" This woman has been acquired by the oxen paid by the man to obtain his wife, and this explains the uneasiness which characterises their relation.

This second reason is perhaps more readily recognised by the Thongas than the first; they sometimes tell you that it is the only reason. But I think they are wrong, and that the same deep feeling that to marry a woman and her mother is incestuous is certainly at the base of these taboos. I may mention two facts in proof of this:

a) Once when I asked a woman of the Maputju country if her husband would be allowed to marry the wife of his brother-in-law, she seemed extremely shocked by the idea and exclaimed: "What are you thinking of? Marry his mother!" To her it would be incest, as much so as if the man had sexual relations with his own mother.

b) The wife of the brother-in-law is not the only great mukoñwana. The wives of his brothers, and of his sons and grandsons are all classed under that term. Why is this? Because a man has a prior right to marry not only the daughter of this special woman but all the daughters of his bakoñwana, and all these women, who are their mothers, are conse-

607 quently his potential mothers. He avoids them all, not on account
835 of the lobolo oxen, which he did not actually pay for their daughters,
582 but because it is intolerable to think that he might have relations with a woman and her mother.

607 But no doubt the fact that oxen have been paid by the man,
586 oxen by means of which his great mukoñwana was bought, is
835 the principal cause of the fear which they both feel towards each other. These oxen have created a sort of interdependence between them. Mboza says: "Should my home be disturbed by quarrels, should my wife Nsabula leave me and run away to her parents, or should she die without children, I shall go and claim my oxen... But the oxen have been employed to buy a wife for my brother-in-law, (Maphunga for Mahangale). If Gogwe has no other means at his disposal he must separate the pair Maphunga-Mahangale, cancel their marriage, send Maphunga home and claim the money from her parents. Or I might myself take Maphunga as my wife, and in either of these cases the marriage Maphunga-Mahangale would be annulled."

Thus it may happen that Mboza may marry his great mukoñwana, though such a union is really incestuous, according to the deep moral feeling of the tribe. This is truly terrible!

587 But does this ever really happen? I have put this question to
607 many Thongas, in the various clans of the tribe, and remarked that there are differences amongst them.

Amongst the Nkunas of Shiluvane it is an absolute impossibility. Another woman is offered to meet the claim of the son-in-law who has lost his wife. This is called: "Ku hingakanya ntjandja", i. e. "to put a log across the road." The woman offered may be a little girl, still at the breast of her mother, or even a little boy. This is your wife, his parents will say to the son-in-law, and he must be content to know that, as this male baby will no doubt have a sister in the course of the two following years, the girl to be born will replace his wife. "Ntjandja a ba tluli" i. e. "One does not jump over the log." The man will not persist in his claim, and will not insist on taking the great mukonwana to replace his wife.

Amongst the Khosas and Bilas, such a marriage can take place

517
607 if there is really no means of avoiding it. In the Maputju clan, it is also prohibited ; but "owing to the Whites," owing to civilisation, which alters the old, sound laws of the tribe, it sometimes occurs. Everywhere such an occurence is looked on as a great misfortune.

It is in the neighbourhood of Lourenço Marques, ka Mpfumo, that the reluctance is least pronounced. I have from Mboza the description of what will happen in that part of the tribe when a woman dies without children. Viguet has told us the first half of the story (p. 217). The husband has paid the *mahloko* ; the mourning is over ; but the parents of the deceased wife have no money, no young girl to give as compensation. Here is the second part of this family drama. The father of the deceased wife having no other resource "opens the way of bukoñwana to his son-in-law, the widower." Let us suppose it is Nsabula who has died. Gogwe goes, together with Mboza and his official go-between, to the father of Maphunga. Let us call him Mbekwa. He gives him two hoes and says : "We have brought your mukoñwana (Mboza) because we have had a sad affair (hi humele)." Mbekwa asks Mboza : "How many hoes did you pay for your deceased wife" ? — "Fifty," says Mboza. — "Well, we have received from Gogwe as yet only thirty for Maphunga!" Gogwe acknowledges that it is so. He must at once find the missing twenty hoes and give them back to Mboza, who returns to Mbekwa taking them with him, so as to complete the lobola. All this was only preparatory. Now Gogwe has no further interest in the matter, and returns home. It concerns Mboza alone. Mbekwa calls Maphunga and says : "Look ! this is your great mukoñwana ! Now he is your husband." She may say : "Yes, very well." Then Mboza fetches a goat, and a most curious ceremony takes place, which we shall describe later on, the rite of *killing bukoñwana* or *shikoñwana*, the aim being to kill a certain kind of relationship which must be replaced by another, after which Mboza can marry Maphunga. But most probably Maphunga will say : "No! I fear him too much! It is taboo!" Her feelings cannot accept such a change in their relations. Viguet does not say : "She loves her own husband too much to go willingly to another!" This seems to be a minor consideration. If she definitely refuses, Mbekwa will try

587 607 to find another woman. Maphunga may perhaps have a daughter who will do. Or Mbekwa may have a married son whose daughter can also be offered. If the great mukoñwana is only pregnant, the child about to be born is quite enough *ku hingakanya ntjandja*, to put a log across the road and an end to the claim. But the child will perhaps be a boy... not a girl. Never mind! Mboza will wait patiently for a girl ; Shaputa will be born ; he will wait again until she is of age, then he will marry her and she will *pfusha yindlu ya rarana*, viz. raise up the house of her aunt Nsabula (1). Naturally if matters take this course, Gogwe will have to pay the lobola of the girl who has taken the place of the deceased. Nowadays it is not very difficult : he will work, or send one of his sons to work, for the money.

c) The tinamu.

607 When a man goes bukoñwanen, his heart is full of mixed feelings. He trembles lest he may meet the two terrible bakoñwana whom he wishes to avoid ; but, on the other hand, he is greatly rejoiced at the idea that his *tinamu* will welcome him with hearty laughter and jokes and make much of him. Who are these tinamu ? They belong to three categories, which correspond to three kinds of *bulamu*. First of all *the younger sisters of the wife*.

607 835 *Namu*, plur. *tinamu*, in Ronga, *balamo* in Djonga, comes from the archaic verb *yalama*, which means to *follow*, to come after. My tinamu are those who follow my wife, who have been born after her, her younger sisters in particular. They are my *presumptive wives*, therefore I can play with them with the greatest freedom ; I eat together with them from the same plate. They go so far as to smear my face with ashes (tota hi nkuma) and afterwards wash it with water. I have the right to pat their shoulders gently, to snatch something from their hands, to force them to give me something to eat ; and, if they refuse, I will say to them : "How dare you stint me, you, my wives!" They go

(1) One more fact. If Muhangala has taken another wife besides Maphunga, his daughter born of this second wife cannot be used to meet the claim of the widower.

607 so far as to sleep in the hut of my great mukonwana together with
833 me (p. 242). Nevertheless sexual relations are not allowed.
595 Should a man commit this sin, and should his sister-in-law
582 become pregnant, he will have to pay a fine, or rather he will go to his father-in-law and say : (Viguet) "Ndi dlele ku dya"-"I have killed in order to eat" which means : I have committed a bad action but with the intention of repairing my wrong by marrying the girl. He brings five hoes when he makes the announcement and will remit the remainder of the lobolo later on. A younger sister when married to the same husband as the elder, is called *nhlampsa* of the latter. This term comes probably from hlampsa, to wash, because she washes the dishes of her sister and works more or less as her servant.

607 The right of marrying one's wife's sisters is by no means an
582 obligation. I am not in any way forced to do so, if I do not like
595 them. Most probably, even if I wished to marry them all, I should not have enough oxen to "lobola" them all. On the other hand, the bakoñwana are not obliged to give them to me. If I am not a good husband to my wife, if she complains that I illtreat her, her parents will not consent to receive my oxen for her sisters. Should my tinamu marry other men, of course the peculiar bulamu relations will cease. I can no longer allow myself the intimacy I previously had with them. But if they have children by these men, they will call me tatana and I shall call them bana, because I might have been their father, having a prior right of marrying their mothers.

607 My wife's elder sisters are not tinamu to me ; they are
582 bakoñwana. Why so ? Because when I married my wife, her elder sisters were already married, according to the law that an elder sister must always marry before the younger. A father would never consent to give away the younger before the elder. Therefore I have never had the opportunity of playing with my wife's elder sisters and considering them as possible wives.

607 By extension the term namu is also applied to my wife's
595 younger brothers. They are bakoñwana, in fact (p. 238). Their daughters are my potential wives. However, the relations I have with them are easier than with the elder brothers and

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607 with the father of my wife, as these are her natural protectors.
835 In this first category is included the daughter of my wife's
595 brother (Shaputa versus Mboza). With her the relations are perhaps even more free than with my wife's younger sisters. I call her *nsati*. The intimacy is so great that I can hold her breasts (tamele mabele). I can do so even in the presence of my wife, who is her paternal aunt. She will be pleased to see that I am disposed to avail myself of my right to marry her, because her niece will thus become her nhlampsa, she will hlampsela rarana, i. e. become a second wife by the side of her father's sister. But I dare not take such a liberty with the girl if her father is on the spot and sees me. I probably do not possess the oxen to pay for her, and the father looks chiefly to the oxen.

As already pointed out, all the girls belonging to my bakoñwana are in the same position towards me. I can marry them all... if I am rich enough to "lobola" them. The grand-daughter of my wife's brother is a namu, a nsati. She will probably be a baby whilst I am a grown-up man. Never mind! If I meet her, a little girl on her mother's back, I go and take her in my arms, and
602 say to her: "Good morning, my wife!" As regards my wife's
607 cousins, those whose father is a brother of my wife's father and
835 who bear the same family name as my wife, they are also tinamu,
595 but here a distinction must be made. Should the father of one of these girls be younger than my wife's father, I can marry her; but should he be older I must not do so. Why is this? Because the girl, belonging to an elder branch of my wife's family, takes precedence of my wife; she is her "hosi", her chief. On the other hand my wife, being my first wife, is the mistress of the house; this cousin of hers ought therefore to obey her. But she is her chief! That would not be right. The natural family relations would be disturbed.. Such a union is not taboo (a psi yili) but it must be avoided.

835 The *second category of tinamu* includes those women whom I
595 might marry, not on account of the prior right of a group to the
607 women of another group, but because I might *inherit them*. They are the wives of my elder brothers. If their husbands die, I am their legal heir. Relations with them are easy. We joke together, but there is more reserve towards these tinamu than towards those

835 of the first category. Sexual intercourse with them is a great taboo,
595 and a man daring to commit such a sin would be likened to a
607 wizard: he has killed his brother. This is the sin called matlulana (App. VI). My younger brother's wives are not tinamu ; we call each other ñwingi. I do not inherit them except in extraordinary cases when the deceased has no brother younger than himself.

602 There is still a *third kind of bulamu*. I also call tinamu the
835 cousins of my wife who are the daughters of my wife's mother's
582 sisters. These girls do not belong to my wife's clan ; they bear the family name of their father. Therefore I have no right to inherit them : "A hi delani ndjaka," i. e. "we do not inherit from each other." The relations with these tinamu are agreeable, but there is no hope of marriage between us.

2) Relations on the Husband's side.

607 So far we have considered the relation of Mboza with his wife's family. But what about Nsabula and her position towards her husband's relatives ? Nsabula calls Masuluke and Nsengamuñwe *ñwingi*, and the term is reciprocal. It implies great respect. As we saw, the young bride must work a whole year for her mother-in-law. The same respect is shown by Nsabula to Djan, Sam, Fos, her husband's elder brothers. They are also *ñwingi* to each other. "Should I send her to call Djan," says Mboza, "she will kneel down before him and say : 'My father! Mboza calls you!' or : 'Ñwamasuluke (Masuluke's son), you are wanted with us." She will not dare to address him by name. This extraordinary respect is reciprocal. Djan will consider Nsabula as his inferior, but he will never play with her. On the other hand, Komatane, Mboza's younger brother, is only a *namu* to Nsabula. Both will joke together and even occasionally smear each other with ashes. So will Sam, Fos, Mboza and Komatane with Mihlakaza, the wife of their elder brother. Thus we note
607 this law : a woman will generally respect the elder brothers of her
835 husband (benga), and hold very free intercourse with his younger
595 brothers (tinamu), and vice-versa. A man will keep away from

607 his younger brother's wives (bengi) and play with those of his elder
835 brothers (tinamu). Why tis here this difference ? Because, as
595 we saw, the wife of an elder brother is a possible wife for all
582 his younger brothers, as they have the right of inheriting her, should this man die. On the contrary, an elder brother inherits his younger brother's wife only under quite exceptional circumstances. One does not marry a ñwingi! This would be an insult to one's wife. Nsabula would leave Mboza if Mboza were to marry Magugu, Komatane's wife, because they have been accustomed to call each other ñwingi.

607 To a wife, her husband's elder sister is also a ñwingi (Ndjibari to Nsabula). The husband's younger sister is a namu or *nhombe*, and two tinhombe have very free relations, just as in the case of the tinamu. This freedom exists between female tinamu as well as between tinamu of different sexes.

606 There is a final term to be mentioned : *bakhoti* or *bakhoti-kulobye*, in Ronga, *basevele* in Djonga, a reciprocal term by which the parents of a husband and wife call each other.

593 How far is a woman incorporated in her husband's family ?
769 She belongs to it till her death, provided the lobolo oxen have been paid, but she does not accept the ancestor-gods of her parents-in-law as being her gods. She keeps her own gods, and pr[illegible]are frequently addressed to them by her father or by her brothers in favour of her children. In this respect Thongas differ widely from the old Aryan peoples, where a woman had to adopt the religion of her husband's clan when she married.

* * *

606 Before leaving the subject of relations with parents-in-law, and in order to show to what extent the uneasiness and fear which characterises them are carried, I will briefly mention the taboos of the bukoñwana, which play such a great part in Bantu family life. Let me say that most of these taboos (psiyilayilana, small prohibitions), are not so severe as those connected with sexual relations, disease and death. It is not believed that a breach of

588 it on the wife's head and say to her : "Go and bear children."
782 *In the Ronga clans* the *dlaya shilongo* is somewhat different. The bridegroom must first give £ 1 to the father ; this is over and above the lobolo, of course. Both families provide a goat. These goats are killed without the assistance of the uterine nephews, in front of the hut of the girl's mother. The grandfather prays to the gods of the girl's father : "So be it! They have decided to marry each other ; you, gods of the boy and the girl, unite them together so that they do not hate each other ; let them not remind each other that they are brother and sister ; let their union not be spoilt by such remembrances, nor by other people saying to them : "You have been guilty of witchcraft! You have married your relative!" By this prayer a general notification is given to everybody, and the feeling of shame is removed. Afterwards the officiating relative continues, exhorting the new wife, telling her all that she must do for her husband, mentioning all the details of her conjugal duties with such realism that she begins to cry. The bridegroom bows his head in shame. The preacher goes on till somebody puts a piece of meat into his mouth to stop the exhortation!

The whole country has gathered to see the proceedings and to eat the meat. The wedding pair do not partake of it, because *the goats have been sacrificed for them* (ba hahlela bone). The relatives go home, roasting on the way the joint of meat they have received so as to eat it before reaching their village.

642 The aim of the *dlaya shilongo* is lawfully to kill one kind of relationship and to replace it by another, because the two are not compatible. However, in the case of inheritance of a rarana, for instance, when a blood relative has to change his relationship and to become a relative by marriage, he can inherit without any rite being performed, if there is no nearer legal heir ; in this case it is said : "Bushaka byi ta pfuka — the blood relationship will be revived." It will be strengthened by the new marriage relationship.

588 In the case of marriage with the great mukoñwana, this rite
607 is also performed, as previously mentioned (p. 244). The wedding pair are also covered with the goat's skin. This goat is

588 607 called *the cat*, because it is like a cat which is put on their shoulders and scratches them. It scratches away the bukoñwana which prevented their marriage. (Viguet.) In this case it is the *shikoñwana* which is killed. So the taboo is removed and they can marry.

III. *Marriages permitted.*

582 609 618 Relatives from the eighth degree of relationship can marry unconditionally (Mankhelu). The choice of a boy is unlimited within the clan and even within the tribe. However, marriages into a *too far distant clan* are not recommended, according to Viguet, for the following reasons: 1) If the marriage were unsuccessful, the parents-in-law against whom the claim would be brought might run away with wife and oxen, and we should lose our herd. 2) If our oxen multiplied in the other clan, we might be tempted to go and make war on our parents-in-law in order to appropriate the cattle. So blood would be shed on account of our own oxen! This would bring shame upon us! Whilst if we marry amongst friends, even amongst remote relatives, should a quarrel occur, we shall try to settle it peacefully. These people are amongst those with whom we discuss in the hut. With strangers we discuss outside, on the square, and we occasionally fight with them and drive them away. So a difficulty can better be dealt with when our bukoñwana are people living close by.

IV. *Marriages recommended.*

582 607 Here we must take into account two different cases: some marriages are contracted on account of a kind of right of pre-emption, others on account of a right of inheritance.

1) Right of pre-emption.

There are amongst the relatives of a man certain women on whom he has a kind of preferential claim, or a right of pre-emption.

582/607 and whom he calls spouses, because he would be welcomed if he were able to lobola them. They are his *tinamu* or *tinhlampsa*, viz., his wife's younger sisters or the daughters of his wife's brother. These marriages are considered as peculiarly appropriate. This does not however constitute an absolute right for the man. Should he not prove a good husband, his parents-in-law will not let him have their other daughters (p. 240).

582 607 595 As regards marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, who is the nhlampsa proper, there are different possibilities to be considered. It may very well happen that a man's wife, wishing to have a young girl to help her in her domestic work, approaches her brother and asks him to lend her his daughter, the woman's niece, to stay in her village for this purpose. He consents, and she grows up there. Later on however the girl's parents say to their sister : If your husband has oxen, he may take her as a wife. She returns home and discusses the matter with her husband. Should the latter be agreed, he will send his wife with £ 1.10.—to make a proposal to the girl's parents, and he will take the girl at once without much ceremony. The remainder of the lobolo will perhaps be paid afterwards. If a son wants to marry and has no means of buying his wife, then the girl's parents will say to their sister : "Please remind your husband that he has not yet given the oxen." But they will not urge this too strongly as it is their sister who arranged the marriage in order to secure help for herself. On the contrary should the husband have taken the initiative, and sent his wife to ask her parents to give him the girl because he wanted her, then the lobolo oxen will be claimed at once, or at any rate the bakoŏwana will be in a position to insist on a speedy remittance of the bride-price. But as my informant says : "Pai ya hi bhanu," i. e. "it goes according to the people." It depends on their character.

586 582 607 595 However there is a reason which militates against such marriages. If I quarrel with my first wife, who may have a particularly difficult character, and she goes home, her younger sisters or nieces, who are her tinhlampsa, will certainly follow her, and I shall remain quite alone without a single dish to eat in the evening. Should the quarrel end in a divorce, I shall lose all my

586 wives at once. The custom of marrying a wife's tinhlampsa is
582 approved of; it is however not very frequently observed in Thonga
607 families at the present time.
595 Other women to whom a man has a special right are his relatives on the mother's side, as we have seen; to take a wife from the family in which the father found the mother is recommended and approved of as long as she is not too near a relative.

2) The right of inheritance.

587 The second class of cases does not concern unmarried women
835 whom I mean to lobola, but widows whom I may inherit after
768 the death of their husband. Those whom I may eventually inherit
595 are generally called by me *namu* or *nsati*, and I have very free
582 relations with them, but as already pointed out this liberty never goes so far as to allow of sexual intercourse (p. 247). "Ndi nga da," viz. "I can eat, inherit by prior right" *my elder brother's widow*: she is my regular legacy. As regards my younger brother's widow, I can only marry her if she is old and no longer able to bear children. But if she is still a childbearing woman, to take her is very much against the feelings of the tribe. The reason of the prohibition is this, says Viguet: suppose that this widow of my younger brother already has children. I take her, and have a child by her. The child takes precedence of the first children of its mother: he is their *hosi*, because I, myself, the father, am the elder brother of the deceased. On the other hand, he is *ndjisana* of his other brothers, because he was born after them by *the same mother*. This is impossible; it runs counter to the most elementary notions of the family. In exceptional cases, however, when no one else can claim my younger brother's widow, I may take her.

587 Next to my true tinamu comes *the widow of my maternal uncle*.
768 If he had many, one might be alloted to me in the distribution.
595 But of course, in this as in all other cases of inherited women, the
582 children born of our union would belong to the family who paid the lobolo, and not to me. I have, in a sense, only the usufruct of the property. She will till the fields for me and serve me with

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

APPENDIX VI (See p. 265)

The story of Paulus K., illustrating the matlulana superstition and the Thonga horror of polyandry.

607 835 One of my pupils, who was already a married man of, perhaps, thirty-two years of age, once came to me, very much distressed, to confess a fault which seemed to weigh very heavy on his conscience. On a day of feasting he had drunk too freely and had commited adultery with the wife of his elder brother Guga. He fought with himself for years, not daring to avow an action which seemed to him not merely ordinary adultery but an incestuous act. He finally wrote to his brother: "Though I know that we shall not be able to love each other any more as before, though it pains me so much to separate from you, I will confess! Please forgive me, as I intended to commit suicide on account of my fault!"

The special gravity of the fault consisted in two circumstances: 1) She was his brother's wife and he was now unable to visit his brother when ill, to take part in his burial, or to maintain friendly relations with him. 2) Guga was his elder brother. This made the case still worse.

The letter of Paulus to his fellow evangelists is touching: "I have no right to stay in your assembly, because I have been overcome by the Enemy and committed adultery with my elder brother's wife. I have been long prevented (from confessing) by the Enemy's power. Now I have wept before Jesus that He may help me to pierce the abscess... Satan came and said to me: 'Will you not be ashamed to confess such a thing before men?' I nearly retreated. But at sunrise I made haste to write to you, and now I feel peace and joy. It seems to me that I am going to receive the Spirit of God."

APPENDIX VII (See p. 279)

611 597 604 *The story of Spoon Libombo, shewing that, when the lobolo has not been paid or has been returned, the children belong to the mother's and not to the father's family.*

Spoon was the son of Shibaninge, a woman of the Libombo family, and of Khobete of the Marwaya family, who had lobola Shibaninge.